2: Kruse M-5 (no date) 1934
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such hut stood until recently upon the Iauribi, a plain not far from our Curuzu mission.

I shall now give the names of the moieties and of the respective sibs under each moiety:

A. Moiety of the Whites, *i ririya'aye*

1. *Ari* tree (m). 2. Cotton bush (m). 3. *Datye* sparrow hawk. 4. Sloth. 5. Fish otter. 6. *Ibá* sparrow hawk. 7. *Ikupi* wasp. 8. Jahuti [Land tortoise]. 9. Japim [?]. 10. Toad. 11. Macaco de cheiro [Chrysothrix ?]. 12. Macaco prego [Cebus fatuellus]. 13. Piaba [a fish]. 14. Seringueira-Itauba (m) [rubber tree]. 15. Spider. 16. Swamp deer (Sumpfhirsch). 17. Taperihaxeiro (m) [genus Spondias ?]. 18. Wild cat (Wildkatze). 19. Yara tree (m).

B. Moiety of the Reds, *i pu[illegible]'aye*

20. Corvina [a bird ?]. 21. Cutia [aguti, Dasyprocta]. 22. Jacu [guan, Penelope]. 23. Japu [Cassicus, Ostinops or Xanthornus]. 24. *Kabubám* bird. 25. *Kapuk* (Red Jurúa ? *Ii'arumaryu pukpak-ruat*?]. 26. Mãe da lua [a nocturnal bird]. 27. Mutum [curassow, Crax]. 28. Roe-deer (Reh). 29. Red Arara [red macaw]. 30. Saúba [an ant, Oecodoma cephalotes]. 31. Black Arara [black macaw]. 32. *Uyu* wasp. 33. *Ii'aru* tree (m). 34. Cricket (Zirpe).[1]

TRADITIONAL ORIGIN OF THE SIB SYSTEM

The sibs are supposed originally to have been independent tribes. "Os *ninuc* foram primeiro nações," was told me without my inquiring into this fact. The tribes had been at war with one another. Then came Karusakaibé and united them into one large nation, the Mundurucú confederacy. This great Indian event is supposed to have taken place where the Tapajós Mundurucú now live.

"Who told you this?" I asked my informant, a man who was in his best years. "An old man of the plain told me that," was the answer. In order to be more certain, I had the story repeated later in Mundurucú. This is the translation:

[1] The identifications, given in angular brackets in these two paragraphs, have been added by the editor,—in some cases tentatively only,—from more readily available sources in ZE, JSAP, etc.—Ed.

[See errata sheet, category 11b, p. 57-A — Ans.]

2: Kruse M-5 (no date) 1934
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"In olden days the *ahe, ribat,* lived very far apart from one another. They warred among themselves. Then they became brothers.[1] Karusakaibé said, 'No more killing! Let us just be brothers.' 'Now let us be gay. Now everything is all right,' said he."

In this manner through Karusakaibé there arose the Munduruca confederacy. The brave "Black-faces" have done quite right in giving this noble Indian the honorable title "*Our Father*". As they express it, *Karusakaibé wey ebat*, "Karusakaibé is our father."

Myth of Early Matriarchy and of its Abolition

This tale was received in two versions. I shall here relate the shorter of the two.

"In olden days the women were in possession of the Men's House, *Jôm*, while the men lived in the Big House, *Hege*.

"The men had to do all the work for the women. They had to hunt, fetch firewood, and even provide the manihot roots and bake the meal. All these things they did. They also carried the water.

"Now, at this time three women—namely, Yanyuleiri, the ruler of our people, Taiñhuru and Paruwaré—found three *kadaks*. They took these wind instruments in a brook: they caught three little *Jeju* fishes. They tried the instruments. 'They sound good,' said they. Now they played: they played every day in the forest. Secretly they went there. Then the men became suspicious. 'Where can the women be going all the time?' they said. They hid themselves and kept watch. Then it was that they saw how the women played. Said the men, 'What shall we do?' 'We don't know,' they concluded. Then said the youngest brothers of Yanyuleiri, that is Marimarebé and Mariburubé: 'Let us take the *kadaks* away from them. Why, the women folk don't even hunt, whereas we have to take this work upon ourselves alone!' So they spoke, and took the *kadaks* for themselves. They tried them. 'They sound good,' they said. Then they played

[1] Wiatyen of Witiri appeared in October, 1927. From the signs which they left behind them, our Munduruca concluded that these people who speak a related language wanted to become brothers.

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
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Santarém and Cuiaba in 1795 and again in 1796. They attacked the Mawe in the Madeira River region and a few years later dispersed their southern neighbors, the Parintintin (Canamirim). Their next expedition, involving an army of some 2,000 warriors, is said to have crossed the Xingú and Tocantins Rivers and to have reached the western limits of Maranhão Province. The expedition is said to have been defeated and turned back by the *Apinayé* (see Ivahnez, 1937), but according to Nimuendajú, it may be doubted that the *Mundurucú* actually went so far east. A Neo-Brazilian punitive force fought a 3-day battle with them on the Rio do Tropas (ca. 1796). Peace was established in 1795 or 1796. 175 726

Except for minor conflicts with neighboring tribes, the *Mundurucú* abandoned warfare and gradually relinquished the great territory they had seized. Missions were established on the Tapajós in 1799 and on the Madeira in 1811. By 1895, the *Mundurucú* still living on the Madeira River had been sufficiently acculturated to be described as "civilized" (Hartt, 1885). A few of the villages of the Tapajós region are said to preserve so much of the old culture as can survive without military organization, warfare, and head hunting (Ivahnez, 1937). [177] [179]

The site of the tribe prior to its northward drive along the Tapajós is not definitely known. Kruse (1936) believes that they lived adjacent to the *Apinayé* in Mato Grosso; Martius (1867) thought that language and customs pointed to an origin still further south. It is Nimuendajú's opinion (personal communication), however, that the *Mundurucú* were originally located on the Rio do Tropas, where their principal settlements are found today and where the punitive expedition of 1796 found their chief military strength. *Mundurucú* legend attributes their origin to the town of Necudenon in this area. [179]

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The *Mundurucú* subsist partly on horticulture and partly on hunting, fishing, and gathering. Tocantins' (1877) list of plants cultivated by them includes two species of manioc, sweet potato, pineapple, sugarcane, various peppers and beans, and several species of bananas. Other authors mention cotton, tobacco, and guaraná. Tocantins names some 30 noncultivated plants utilized in *Mundurucú* economy. Martius (1867) says that this tribe formerly gathered wild rice along the Madeira and Ituxi Rivers. They eat ants, larvae, and honey. 241 222

Some of the *Mundurucú* now have cattle. Though they do not use these as food, they will eat the meat of domestic animals if it is offered them. 231

In the aboriginal culture, wild fowl were kept in cages to provide plumage for the featherwork described below.

The *Mundurucú* are said to show great affection for their dogs. Women suckle puppies; when a dog dies it is given the same form of burial as a human being.

There are no published descriptions of *Mundurucú* hunting techniques, but accounts of hunting rituals indicate that tapirs, peccaries, hares, deer, and agoutis are hunted. One ritual simulates the use of a runway of stakes to trap peccaries. Intensive hunting occurs during the summer, when many families occupy temporary huts in the brush. 234 [221]

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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of the stream is wild and solitary. The jungle overhangs the water and only once in a great while does a tiny wattle-and-daub house, the home of a collector of wild rubber, appear in a small clearing. At even greater intervals, the launch passes or stops at little hamlets of three to six such houses, which form the trading centers of the scattered collector population.

Several days and barely 400 miles of this travel bring the voyager to the trading posts which conduct sporadic business with one segment of the Munduruca population. There are a few such establishments, all situated on the Tapajós River near the mouths of its eastern tributaries, the Cadiriri, Cabitutú, and the Tropas. A number of Munduruca villages are at the headwaters of the latter streams, and occasional Indian, distinguished by tattooing, unusually rugged or ill-fitting clothing, and impassivity of facial expression can often be seen at the trading posts. Racially, the Munduruca does not stand out sharply, for Caucasoid genes are as thoroughly distributed among the Indian population as are Indian genes among the local Brazilians.

If one wishes to reach the village of Cabrutú, a typical Munduruca community of the savannah lands east of the Tapajós, it is necessary to ascend the Cabitutú River in a canoe. After five days, or more during the rainy season, of dawn-to-dusk paddling, the port of the village is reached. This consists of a cleared stretch of river bank and a trail that leads to a house about 200 yards away. The house is usually occupied only during the dry season, when some residents of Cabrutú go there to pass the summer in fishing and rubber collecting. To reach the village, one must walk a half-day overland from this point. A well-beaten trail leads from the valley of the Cabitutú and over a ridge, dipping down again to cross a small stream. It continues through the forest and then abruptly emerges onto a semi-wooded savannah. The journey is then near an end, and a few miles of slow but steady ascent through the grasslands and past isolated clumps of forest bring one to the village.

The majority of the Munduruca now live on the banks of the larger streams of the area in order to have convenient access to the rubber trees that grow there. Only 300 Indians live in the contemporary savannah villages, but 700 reside on the Cururú River in contact with a Brazilian Indian Service post and a Roman Catholic mission staffed by Franciscan priests. Another 200, the most acculturated part of the population, live among the Brazilian population of the Tapajós River. But the region of mixed savannah and gallery forest east of the Tapajós River is their traditional habitat. Most of the events recounted in their mythology are believed to have occurred there, and this has been their homeland throughout the historic period and, according to Munduruca tradition, since the creation of man.

The modern savannah communities have preserved traditional Munduruca architecture and village plan to a greater extent than the riverine groups. Each has two to five dwelling houses and a men's house, arranged in a circle about a central plaza. But whereas the plazas formerly served as ceremonial and dance grounds and were kept free of weeds, they are now rank with underbrush. And the houses are considerably smaller, reflecting the diminished population of the

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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2

the contact period

The Munduruc6 explain in the form of legendary history how and why relations were established with the white man:

> In the old days our grandfathers were still wild and fought against the white men. The whites used to come up our rivers in their canoes, and we always battled. One day a group of them came up, and there was a fight and our men were driven off. Two of our young men were wounded and were left behind. They were captured and taken away.
>
> The next time the white men came we were about to attack when the two men who were captured stood up in the canoe and told us not to do anything as these people were our friends. They then came forward and showed us clothes, knives, axes, and many other good things that the whites gave them. They said that if we gave rubber and *farinha* to the whites, we too would receive these things. The elders decided to do this and ever since we have been friends of the white men.

[p 27]